Louisville's School Head Criticizes Both Parties For Ducking on Integration, Page 2

I. F. Stone's Weekly

VOL. IV, NO. 37 OCTOBER 1, 1956 WASHINGTON, D. C. 15 CENTS

Jefferson's Real Kin Are in The NAACP

Nowhere in the world more than in our South, nowhere in the South more than in Virginia, is pride of race so strong. "Family" overawes money, and a Chinese would find himself at home amid the ancestor worship of Virginia's First Families. Their reverence for their forbears is justified; we Americans, old, recent or new, are all the spiritual sons of Virginia. Jefferson, who wrote the Declaration; Washington, who led the Revolution; Madison, the father of the Constitution; George Mason, who drafted the Virginia Bill of Rights in 1776 and later much of the Federal Bill of Rights modelled upon it—all were Virginians. Their words indeed belong to mankind. As all modern men are to some degree Greeks and Hebrews so they are all to some degree Virginians; wherever men struggle for their freedom, Virginia is part of their inspiration.

The descendants of these men have just demonstrated in an unintended way the fallacies of racism. If it was blood that counted, then the men in whose veins there literally flows the blood of Jefferson and Washington and Madison and Mason could not possibly have done what they just did in the Virginia State Legislature at Richmond. They voted to cut off funds to any local school district which decided to obey the Supreme Court and extend equality to education. They, whose ancestors believed above all in free debate, passed a law to penalize organizations "attempting to influence public opinion" in favor of integration. They acted in the spirit of that White Citizens Council handbill which affirms, "We hold these truths to be self-evident that all whites are created equal with certain rights; among them are life, liberty and the pursuit of dead niggers." As these ugly words caricature Jefferson's noblest phrases, so these legislators caricatured the ancestry they worship. In their frenzy to shield the purity of their blood, they have mongrelized their spirit. Their fathers, in striving to liberate themselves, helped to liberate mankind; the sons, in striving to degrade others, degrade themselves. When Jefferson's race could act as the Legislature of Virginia acted, it is clear that race is a myth. Jefferson's real kin are in the NAACP.

Neither Party Dares to Mention the H-Bomb's Corollary

Mr. Acheson's re-appearance in the political arena last week contributed, if nothing else, the finest mixed metaphor of the campaign. After saying that we appeared to be "playing Russian roulette with an atomic pistol," he added that "through this mile-wide hole in the line the Russians scored again and again with the ball carried by the dove of peace." We expected in another moment to hear that while the dove of peace carried the ball, Krushchev was preparing to steal home from third base.

The former Secretary of State also succeeded in further confusing the debate, if it can be called such, over the question of the draft. Mr. Acheson thinks we ought to have twice as many combat-ready divisions in the Army as we now have and is worried about the Radford plan to reduce the Army further and rely more on atomic retaliation. But how does the Radford plan differ from Mr. Stevenson's belief that in the future the armed services will need mostly specialists and can dispense with the draft? How does Stevenson differ from Radford, and does Acheson disagree with Stevenson?

Much that Mr. Acheson had to say in criticism of the Republicans made good sense. But he also succeeded in highlighting the limited alternatives offered by the Democrats. It is true that Eisenhower and Dulles often left "our closest friends and allies . . . scared to death" but so, on crucial occasion, did Truman and Acheson. As the campaign shapes up, the Republicans want to rely on an ability to strike with overwhelming destruction; the Democrats seem to think we need an even more overwhelming atomic air force for bigger occasions plus a larger army for smaller operations, though Stevenson says we can mobilize it without a draft. Our friends and allies are alarmed by either alternative.

Nowhere in Mr. Acheson's speech or in Mr. Stevenson's is there recognition that what most terrifies our allies and the neutrals is American unwillingness to see that the only sane corollary of the H-bomb is peaceful co-existence. How keep little wars from becoming big ones; an army using small atomic weapons from shifting to large ones; hatred from becoming tension and tension, war; an arms race, from a cosmic blowup? Mr. Acheson still talks the language of the cold war, and the cold war means a heavy arms burden for our allies and costly disruption of normal trade. What primes our pump is breaking their back.

Mr. Stevenson has finally spoken out on foreign policy, with a slap at Peron and a hint that he also means Nasser. But Mr. Dulles is right in asserting that Peron was a bipartisan product; and so is Nasser. The important point seems to us that what Mr. Stevenson says of Peron applies to Chiang Kai-shek, Franco and most of the governments below the Rio Grande. Peron was not the only dictator who took American aid and pocketed much of the proceeds. This is the secret of the China Lobby's finances and an old Latin American custom. Does Mr. Stevenson object only when the S.O.B., to echo a famous remark of FDR's, is not really ours? Does he object only to buying dictators who will not stay put?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Little Noticed Testimony of Louisville's Superintendent of Public Schools

The Lag Between Negro and White Pupils As Seen Through Friendly Eyes

MR. HOTTELET: Dr. Carmichael . . . There has been a lot of figures in the press, of late, about the alleged racial inferiority of the Negro. In your long experience as an educator in the South, have you seen any proof that the Negro is biologically or intellectually inferior to the white?

DR. CARMICHAEL: Well, now, I am not competent to pass on any question of that kind, but let me answer, not trying to evade, but generalizing.

First, I will accept the anthropologists and the psychologists who say there is no difference among races.

Then let me say that there is a vast difference, even in a school such as ours, where, for ten years, we paid equal salaries, the same class size, the same equipment, the same library facilities, the same everything that we could make equal, and teachers with proper training, our Negro teachers have slightly better, slightly more degrees and more semester hours of credit than do our white teachers, and yet at sixth grade, for example, our Negro children, the median Negro child is practically one year and a half behind the white child.

Now, let me explain, that is not dealing with capacity, native capacity, it is dealing with achievement, and you have this whole cultural poverty in which the Negro lives, and, some of you are sure to ask it, the Negro teacher is not as competent as the white teacher. . . .

MR. NOVINS . . . This problem of the Negro children, because of the environmental differences or any other cultural differences, being a grade and a half or so behind the white children, isn't that a very real problem now, when you are trying to integrate?

DR. CARMICHAEL: It is a real problem, but it is not as great as many people feel.

For example, if you will take any sixth grade and apply any standard test you please, the spread of children from high to low on that standard test will be much greater than the spread between the median for the Negro and the median for the white. . . .

—Dr. Omer Carmichael on CBS "Face The Nation"

Both Parties Failed

DR. CARMICHAEL: If both parties had come out in their platforms, had come with a clear-cut endorsement without any reservations, I guess everybody in the South would have been helped immeasurably. Each party failed in an obligation to the public in this case.

MR. MADIGAN: What would you say, which party failed the most?

DR. CARMICHAEL. I have no way of saying that. They ought to have gotten together, and on something, the greatest human problem of our generation, they ought to have got together and come out with a common platform."

—Dr. Omer Carmichael, Superintendent of the Louisville, Ky., Schools on CBS "Face The Nation," Sept. 23

Eight Johns Hopkins and Goucher Teachers Answer Charge of Negro Inferiority

Socio-Economic Status Creates Wider Gap Than Race

Eight members of the faculties of Johns Hopkins University and Goucher College, teachers of psychology and education, took the editor of the *Baltimore Sun* to task in a letter printed by that newspaper on September 25. They challenged his acceptance of "data recently published by Dr. McGurk in the *U.S. News and World Report* [Sept. 21] purporting to demonstrate that Negroes as a group are intellectually inferior to whites as a group"and that integration therefore threatens school standards.

The writers, who included the chairman of the psychology department at Johns Hopkins and the chairmen of the education and psychology departments at Goucher, challenged both Dr. McGurk's methods and his conclusions.

Dr. McGurk cites several studies which show that Negroes achieve lower intelligence scores than whites when tested with standard psychological intelligence tests. These critics object that these tests have been standardized on white samples and "thus the use of these tests on any but white children is subject to question."

Dr. McGurk contends that even after Negro-white students are equated for socio-economic status, the whites are superior at the higher (but not the lower) level. But this, the critics object, "assumes the possibility of a social equation between members of minority and majority groups in a segregated culture. It is extremely unlikely that such equality is attainable" under segregation: "In Baltimore for example, there were many years when a Negro of any social status could not see a play at Ford's from a good seat."

"And now to your concern," the critics write, "about what integration is going to do to our educational system. Permit us to point out that even Dr. McGurk's figures show that the difference in intelligence scores between whites of high and low socio-economic status is greater than between his total Negro and white population or between the Negro and white population of high socio-economic status.

"If therefore your concern for the best standards in education were genuine you should be just as concerned with the possible depressing effects of the poor white population upon the schooling of the rich white population as you are with the effect of the total Negro population upon the total white population."

A Negro Educator's Reply

". . . Negro youth in Ohio, where there are better schools available, measured higher in the comprehensive intelligence tests for army recruits than the white youth of every state in the South except Florida, where there has been much migration from the North.

"With historical one-third of the educational facilities, Negro youths have managed to do at least two-thirds as well as Southern white students on their own grounds. It is a tortuous logic that would use the tragic results of inequality to establish the need of continuing it."

—Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University, in the N.Y. Times Sunday Magazine, Sept. 23

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Glimpses of the Labor Movement: A Report from San Francisco

Machinists Union Weak on Peace, Civil Liberties and Negro Rights

By James Higgins

San Francisco—Civil rights, civil liberties and foreign policy continue to be the weakest links in the American labor movement, the two-week convention of the International Association of Machinists here demonstrated. The resolution on civil rights, which announced the union's intention not to get "involved in any of the current controversy regarding the integration decision of the Supreme Court," was hardly distinguishable for pious moderation from those passed at the political conventions a few weeks previously. The civil liberties issue arose only indirectly, when the appeals committee reported on the case of five members of a Seattle lodge who had been expelled from the IAM and fined $1,000 each after conviction on charges brought under the union's constitutional denial of membership to "anyone who advocates or encourages Communism, Fascism, Naziism, or any other totalitarian philosophy or ism." It need hardly be specified which one of these the accused were charged with advocating.

The committee report made much of the fact that in the course of the trial conducted by the executive committee of the local lodge the accused were accorded the right to testify and their lawyers the right to cross examine the undercover agents who testified against them. But the refusal of some of the accused to testify, and their failure to appear "though invited" before the convention appeals committee, were given the same significance as it would have been by the Un-American or Internal Security committees.

Dues The Big Issue

The Machinists' convention was in many ways attractive and impressive. The approximately 1500 delegates worked hard; were seriously attentive to such speakers as Stevenson, Morse, James Roosevelt, Patton of the Farmers Union, Meany and Leon Keyserling; debated frankly and reasonably, for almost a day, before voting by a rather close margin to double the monthly dues, in part to raise a strike fund of two million. But the issue of the "disloyal" Seattle members raised not a word of debate. And of course no delegate challenged the usefulness or the democratic morality of the constitutional provision itself.

Innocents Abroad and at Home

"Surely we of Canada and the U.S. had no hand in bringing this danger (of global war) upon ourselves. Aside from occasional involvements in the troubles of the Old World, we have devoted ourselves to gaining and perfecting freedom in our own political and economic lives."

—Pres. Al Hayes at the Machinists Convention

The contrast between the failure to appreciate what the penalty of expulsion might mean to the worker and his family if he has one and the resolved determination to enhance union members' security, pension and retirement rights was one of those ironies which the Cold War anti-communist hysteria has introduced all through American institutional life. Nor did union president Al Hayes see any connection between the union's repressive "basic law" against advocacy or encouragement of "isms" and the nation's "restrictive laws and web of red tape" with which he said unions were beset.

Lily White Till 1948

One of the convention resolutions cutely proposed to add the word "segregation" to the things members are barred from advocating or encouraging. This device got the cold shoulder from the combined law and resolutions committees, as did another proposal which referred to the "ill advised premature action of such organizations as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People." The committee's resolution on civil rights was what might have been expected from an organization whose leaders state the relationship between discrimination and low wages but who head a union which up until 1948 retained in its constitution a clause restricting membership to white machinists.

It is possible Adlai Stevenson added an unfortunate section to his address before the International Association of Machinists here after he had been apprised of AFL-CIO President George Meany's remarks at the same convention the day before. At any rate Stevenson inserted a few paragraphs which were not in the printed text distributed to newsmen wherein he paid respects to Meany's comments on the international situation and said, among other things, of the Eisenhower Administration "Why don't they tell us that the menace of Communism has been growing, that neutralism is spreading, that the realities are grim and that we can lose the cold war without ever firing a shot?" This was practically a paraphase, though a shortened one, of Meany's firebrand attack on the Geneva atmosphere.

Meany has consistently been a belligerent cold warrior and Hayes, who seems otherwise to have a great deal of sense, felt obliged to devote a third of his formal speech on the convention's first day to warnings of nuclear conflict, declaring that "the danger is now more intense than in 1952"—a year when the Korean war was still with us. Strange stuff. I heard the Stevenson speech and was torn, as I usually am when the Democratic candidate addresses himself to foreign policy, between feeling that he believes it would be disloyal to the party to praise the drift toward peace and feeling that he actually means what he says. Either way it's not good.

STATEMENT REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AS AMENDED BY THE ACTS OF MARCH 3, 1933, AND JULY 2, 1946 (Title 39, United States Code, Section 233), SHOWING THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION OF I. F. STONE'S WEEKLY published Weekly except the last two weeks in August and December at Washington, D. C. 1. The names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher, Editor, Managing Editor, I. F. Stone, 5618 Nebraska Avenue, Washington, D. C. 15. Business Manager, Esther M. Stone, 5618 Nebraska Avenue, Washington, D. C. 2. The owner is I. F. Stone's Weekly, Inc., 301 E. Capitol Street, Washington, D. C., I. F. Stone, Esther M. Stone, 5618 Nebraska Ave., Washington, D. C. 3. The known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.) None. 4. Paragraphs 2 and 3 include, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting; also the statement in the two paragraphs show the affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner. 5 The average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the 12 months preceding the date shown was 10,082. (s) I. F. Stone, publisher. Sworn to and subscribed before me this 25th day of September, 1956. (s) Bernard M. Eshleman [Seal] (My commission expires 8/14/57.)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

White House Press Corps Thinks Ike Did Concur In That "Off Their Butt" Remark

It's More Than "Sectarianism" That Ails American Communists

Not Just "Sectarianism": How far the American Communists still are from understanding their own isolation may be seen in the "Draft Resolution" for their National Convention next February. Nothing is said in its discussion of the Bill of Rights about the Party's main vice—the double standard by which it fights for civil liberties when Communists are involved but stays silent or applauds when other factions of the Left are persecuted. Behind this silence is the same attitude toward opposition and independent Left criticism obvious in Krushchev's Stalin-style attacks on "Trotkyites, Bukharinites," etc. The Communists do not really believe in civil liberties, except for themselves. Indeed, when in power, they don't even allow free speech to themselves. The Draft Resolution's discussion of the Progressive Party is appalling in its smug blindness. The Communist talk as if sectarianism somehow trapped them into supporting the Progressive Party. Not a word is said of the way in which Communist fractions strategically placed in the tail of the party wagged the whole dog into sectarian formulations and attitudes. These stultified the Progressive Party and compromised the fight for peace. A desire faithfully to echo Moscow's cliches was dominant in that operation. The same unwillingness to look at the whole truth is evident in the discussion of the trade unions. The Resolution says "It [the party] rejects any policy of interference in their internal affairs." This is a joke. Even trade unionists friendly to the Communists have had to fight such interference constantly. In the trade unions, as in the Progressive Party and other mass organizations, Communists make it very difficult to work with them because they set up fractions which do all they can secretly to control the organization irrespective of the rank and file membership. This is what makes it impossible to envisage a new progressive party so long as there is a Communist party; the Communists will enter the new organization not as progressives but as Communists, pursuing purposes of their own. Even a man as far Left as Marcantonio found that he could not get along with them in the ALP. They don't believe in majority rule. They believe in manipulation by fraction in accordance with decisions from the top down, their *top* —not the top of the organization in which they are working.

Sidelight on Inflation

The UAW last week issued but few papers published an analysis of the new price increases announced by the Big Three auto companies. UAW pointed out that GM's annual rate of profit on net worth for the first half of this year was 23.7 percent after taxes; Ford's was 14.1 percent. UAW said had wholesale prices of cars and trucks been cut $100, GM would still have earned 19.4 percent on net worth after taxes; Ford, 9.1 percent. Steel Magazine last month estimated the steel price rise would add $14 to the cost of a $2500 car. Ford has raised V-8 prices by $99 and GM has made a similar increase. Dealers fear a volume market in 1957 will be impossible with higher price tags; labor fears a car market slump. UAW points out business executives making price decisions also are active in the Administration and it therefore shares the blame for inflation.

"Off Their Butt": Despite frantic disclaimers from Hagerty, newspapermen on the White House beat believe the President did express agreement when George Spence of Nashville, a candidate for Congress in Tennessee's Fifth, suggested that small farmers "have to get off their butts and go to work like everybody else." This is what happened. When the 22 Republican Congressional candidates emerged from their meeting with Eisenhower last Monday, they were "divided up" among waiting newspapermen. Spence was interviewed by Garnett D. Horner, veteran reporter for the conservative *Washington Star*, which is pro-Eisenhower. The *Star* reprinted Horner's notes verbatim after Hagerty's special press conference to "correct" the Spence story. The "off their butt" phraseology reflects the big farmer viewpoint of the GOP and Eisenhower himself; both feel instinctively that if a farmer—or indeed any other man—is poor, it must be his own fault.

Hat's Off: To MIT, where Prof. Dirk J. Struik, last week resumed the teaching of mathematics, in the wake of the Supreme Court decision last May in the Nelson case. That the case against Struik was a fraud is evident from the fact that Massachusetts authorities never had the nerve to submit his indictment (five years ago, in September 1951) to the test of a trial.

Next Week: The Outlook for The New Smith Act Appeals

I. F. Stone's Weekly, 301 E. Capitol, Wash. 3, D. C.
Please renew (or enter) my sub for the enclosed $5:*

Name .....

Street .....

City .....Zone.....State.....

Enter gift sub for $2 (6 mos.) or $4 (1 yr.) additional:

(To) Name 10/1/56

City .....Zone.....State.....

City .....Zone.....State.....

Shall we send gift announcement? Yes ☐ No ☐

I. F. Stone's Weekly
Room 205
301 E. Capitol St., S. E.
Washington 3, D. C.

NEWSPAPER

Entered as Second Class Mail Matter Washington, D. C. Post Office

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED